A FIFTEENTH CENTURY SHUTTARI SUFI SAINT OF NORTH BIHAR

SYED HASAN ASKARI

Nowhere did Sufism which reinterpreted Semetic Islam to the Aryan world found such a fruitful soil to thrive as in India, for the Sufi with his doctrine of mystical union of man's soul with God, regarding the world of phenomena as a mere reflection of the Supreme Being, requiring the aid of spiritual-guides so as to be capable of reaching God, emphasizing faith rather than work for the salvation of men, believing in the moral elevation of man, and discarding all invidious social distinctions, established himself in India, the land of the Vedanta, Yoga, and Bhakti, where the whole atmosphere was surcharged with a deep yearning and quest for God, and the need was felt by a band of Hindu seers and reformers for a great spiritual regeneration and social uplift of fellowmen. The Muslim saints and Sufis of various orders, each with a discipline and organization of its own, concerned themselves not only with the development of mystical doctrines but also with the propagation of their faith. That the Sufi saints and missionaries were largely responsible for the peaceful[1] penetration of Islam in India is now an admitted fact. But very little is known about the part played in this respect by Sufi saints of Bihar some of whom were of outstanding personalities and of wide and far reaching influences. The little that has been written[2] so far is mostly about the saints of south Bihar and little or no notice has been taken of those[3] whose field of activities lay across the Ganges in north Bihar. Many of them belong to the Shuttari order of Sufis about which, unlike the Chisti, Qadri, Suharwardi, Naqshbandi orders etc.,[4] nothing is practically known, specially to the English-reading public. The few lines in Encyclopaedia of Islam and the passing notice in the articles of the Indian Culture about the introduction of this order in India, are not only inadequate but in some respects misleading. It is not a fact

1. *Preachings of Islam* by Sir Thomas Arnold ; *Indian Islam* by Titus Murrayet.
2. See the writer's papers in *J.B.O.R.S.* (Patna) and *B. P. & P.* (Calcutta).
3. Those who did not belong to the Shuttari order included among others the following:—Syed Ibrahim Chisti (d. 657), father of the well-known Makhdoom Adam Sufi (d. 670). Taqyuddin alias Mir Budhe Chisti, the spiritual guide of the ruler of Tirhut and the son of Mir Jalaluddin Chisti of Kalpi (d. 899 A.D.). Mir Qutbuddin (d. 960), Shaikh Abdul Hai Chisti, son of Jalalul Haque alias Qazi Khan Nasihi (d. 931), Makhdoom Syed Hassan of Saran and his son Pir Damaria, I. of Hajipur (d. 931), Makhdoom Syed Hassan of Saran and his son Pir Damaria I, of Hajipur Gisudaraz (d. 825 A.D.), Sh. Dilawar Sher Chabuk Sawar of Ladauli in Saran, Mir Abdul Mallick of Ushri, Saran (d 911), Sh. Fattu and Sh. Burhan of Salimabad who died a 'martyr' during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlak at Bargazar, Maulana Khaja Ali of Teghra, the disciple of Hazrat Shahbaz of Bhagalpur of Shahjahan's time, Shah Birkhe of Darbhanga (d. at Amethi 997), Sh. Zahid of Saran, Hafiz Hizrat of Saran, spiritual guide of Shah Daulat Manari, Shah Shariatullah alias Shah Charra, Shah Majzub of Darbhanga, Sh. Zakariah Mazindrani of Sheorah, Jandaha, Shaikh Sultan Naqshbandi of Belia Lakhmeniya (d. 1126), Syed Abdul Rasul of Darbhanga, etc.
4. Seekers of truth and knowers of God, we are told, are of three types: Akhyar, Abrar, and Shuttar. The title Shuttar literally means 'clever', 'fast going', 'abandoning', 'taking sides' etc. The Shuttari order, also called Ishqa, Bustamia and Firdusia, is the way of those mystics who turning aside from self and worldly things attain God within the shortest possible time, profiting directly by spiritual grace rather than, as in the case of other orders, through austerities and self-mortifications.

that "allusions to the order in Sufi literature are rare," that "its headquarters in India was at Jaunpur," that "the Indian could not accept[5] him (pioneer of the order) warmly for the reason of novelties introduced by him," that "we do not know the extent of his success in India" and that "he died in Malwa in 1406 A.D.[6]" Neither time and space nor the occasion permit a detailed consideration or even a bare outline of the theological position and theosophical principles of the Shuttari order, but it is worth while to write something about the importance of the order, with special reference to the life, work, and influence of one of the greatest Shuttari saints of India who flourished in the fifteenth century in north Bihar, on the basis of materials locally available, particularly one of his own rare works which has come down to us in a manuscript form.

Though Abul Fazal[7] does not include the Shuttari Silsila in his list of 14 orders in India, he admits that his list is not exhaustive and he mentions the order in more than one place and says that his famous father, Shaikh Mobarak, profited by the instructions of men of the Shuttari order. Abul Fazal's sister's son and the editor of his epistolary composition gives us valuable information in his rare *Tazkira, Akhbar-ul-Asfia,* still in MS., about some[8] of the saints of the Shuttari order including Shaikh Abdullah and his chief disciple, Shaikh Abul Faiz Md. Bin Ola alias Qazin Shuttari of Bania Basarh in Muzaffarpur district of north Bihar. Another contemporary of Akbar, the historian and traditionist, Sh. Abdul Haque[9] of Delhi, and a contemporary of Jahangir and Shahjahan named Sh. Abdul Rahman Chisti of Amethi (Oudh), the respective authors of the standard biographical dictionaries of saints, namely Akhbarul Akhyar and Mirat-ul-Asrar,[10] have noticed some of the saints of the Shuttari order including Shaikh Faridduddin Jahangir[11] alias

5. The first man to receive the title of Shuttar from his Pir, Sh. Md. Arif, who afterwards sent him to India, sometime in the early decades of the 8th century Hijra, was Sh. Abdullah Shuttari, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Sufi mystic, Sh. Shahbuddin Suharwardi and 5th in line of spiritual succession from Shaikh Nagmuddin Kubra (d. 628), the founder of the Firdusia order. After travelling widely in Persia and Iraq he came to India, met the 3 saints of Manikpur, including Makhdoom Husamuddin (d. 853), saw Sultan Ibrahim Shergi at Jaunpur (d. 840), paid a visit to Bihar and Bengal and then went to Mandu where he finally settled down and died in 890= 1485. He wrote a book, as we learn from his chief disciple, the saint of Basarh, at the instance of Mushir-ul-Mulk, the Minister of Sultan Ghiasuddin Khilji of Malwa (1469-1500) dealing with the doctrines of his order, specially the principles of affirmation (Isbat) and negation (Nafi).

6. This date given in Khazinat ul Asfia and Khazanatul Ansab is obviously wrong for Sh. Qazim was initiated in the Shuttari order by Sh. Abdullah in 881 or 1486.

7. *Ain Akbari.*

8. Abdus Samad writes about Sh. Umar of Thatta, "one of the great Mashaikhsh" who taught about the Shuttari, Taifuri, Chisti, Suharwardi orders and it was at the instance of the latter that Shaikh Mubarak went to Agra in 950. He also gives an account of Mir Syed Ali Qawam of Jaunpur (d. 905), one of the chief saints of Hindustan who received his spiritual grace from Sh. Quazam Shuttari.

9. See the *Proc. I.H.C.,* Bombay about the historical importance of his writings. He is the author of a general history of India named *Tarikh-i-Haqqi.*

10. *Kujhwa* MS.

11. The two brothers practised austerities and self-mortifications for a period of 13 years and 7 months in the fort of Chunar under the spiritual direction of Shaikh Hamid Zahur Haji Hasur of Ratansarai. Emperor Humayun became the Murid of Sh. Bhul (Bahlol) and so long as he was alive no harm occurred to Humayun. When in 945 Mirza Hindal, younger brother of the emperor turned against the latter the

Sh. Bahlul and his more famous brother, Sh. Khatiruddin alias Sh. Md. Ghaus of Gwalior, one of the greatest Sufi saints in India, and their spiritual guide, Haji Hamid Hasur[12] who lies buried at Ratansarai in Saran district and the latter's spiritual directors, the saints of Basarh and his son, Sh. Abdul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast, of Tankol in Muzaffarpur district. The celebrated Shuttari saint of Gawalior to whom and his brother, emperor Humayun was greatly attached and about whom, to quote the historian Nizamuddin,[13] "His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Elahi (Akbar) had a very high opinion," writes in a reverential tone in his well known work, *Jawahir-i-Khamsa,*[14] which was translated into Arabic by Sh. Sibghatullah[15] of Baroach (Gujarat) about his spiritual guide, the saint of Saran, who was the disciple of the son of the great saint of Basarh. M. Ghaus bin Hassan Shuttari, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir, who was born in 962 and devoted much of his book, *Gulzar-i-Abrar,*[16] completed between 1014 and 1022, to the saints of Shuttari order including those mentioned above was the disciple of the celebrated Maulana Wajihullah[17] Gujrati, "the author of commentaries of many learned works and many noble treatises" including some which form the earliest specimens of Urdu prose. The latter became a disciple of the saint of Gawalior. Thus the spiritual inspiration of the saints of Basarh and Saran flowed through Gawalior to Gujarat and Deccan. M. Wajihullah's disciple Sibghatullah Baroachi

Shaikh was sent to pacify him. But the Mirza made the Shaikh a Martyr. "Faqad Mata Shahida" is the chronogram of his death. Emperor Akbar became Murid of Sh. Md. Ghaus and so long as he lived he remained genuinely attached to him (M.A., Asf., Mt. M-U).

12. Son of Maulana Zahiruddin Ghaznavi who was killed on his way while taking his infant son to Gawalior. He had lost his mother soon after his birth in 835 and was brought up by a wet nurse. From the very beginning he was religious minded, simple, pious and remained celibate throughout his life. After travelling widely in this country and in Arabia he was ordered while at Mecca to return to India. He picked up two boys, the future saints, Bahlol and Ghaus, imparted religious knowledge to them, made them practise austerities in Kalinjar and in the hills of Chunar and then initiated Shuttari order which he had himself joined under the guidance of his Pir, Sh. Quazin of Basarh. The latter entrusted him with the Khirqa and other emblems of his succession which he delivered to the saint's third son, Abdul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast, and was magnanimous enough to acknowledge him as his guide. He died on 22 Zilhijja 930 at the age of 95 and lies buried at Ratansarai in Saran Dt., as we learn from a MS., *Maqabiri-Aulia Mulla Naseer,* compiled at the instance of prince Azimusshan. His five chief disciples, his eldest son Rukn Alam, Abayazid, son of his eldest brother, Haji Hamid Hasur, Hajibadhe, a grandson of Sh. Sadruddin Chiraghi-i-Hind of Zafarabd (d. 798), and Syed Jalaluddin, the grand father of the Diwan Syed Md. Jafar Qadri, the famous saint of Barh (d. 1101/1689).

13. *Tabakat Akbari.*

14. The saint of Gawalior who died in 970 wrote other books also such as *Mirajnama, Aurad-i-Ghausia, Bahrul-Hayat.* The first raised such a controversy that the saint had to flee to Gujrat to escape the wrath of Sher Shah and was saved by the intervention of Maulana Wajihuddin Gujrati.

15. According to the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar, he went to Malawa in 998 and thence proceeded through Khandesh to Ahmednagar, Deccan where he was honoured by its ruler, Burhanul Mulk. Next year he went to Bijapur whose ruler welcomed him. He then disposed of everything that he possessed and left for Madina in 1015 where he died in 1019.

16. Tazkirat ul Abrar translation of Gulzari-Abrar.

17. An Alavi Syed, a great teacher, a prolific writer, and a pious saint, who, according to Abul Fazal, spent his whole life in poverty, fasting, and reliance on God. For fifty years he imparted lessons to his pupils. He died in 998. When the Ulema, including Sh. Ali Muttaqi Gujrati, condemned Sh. Ghaus of Gawalior he refused to sign the Mahzar prepared against him and saved Sh. Ghaus from the wrath of Sher Shah. After a personal discussion with Sh. Md. Ghaus he became his disciple.

Madani, was the spiritual guide of Ahmad Shinnasi[18] (d. 1028), the author of a commentary on *Muwahib-ul-ladunnia,* and the latter was the spiritual director of Sh. Safiuddin Quahashi Madani[19] (d. 1071), who wrote a book in Arabic named *Samtul Majid*[20] which contains an account of the Shuttari saints and their connections with other orders. Quahashi's father-in-law met at Medina Sh. Mahmud Shuttari,[21] a grandson of the saint of Basarh. A disciple of Quahashi Madani named Ibrahim Bin Hassan Kurd (d. 1112), was the father of Sh. Abu Tahir Madani[22] (d. 1145) who was the teacher and spiritual guide of the great Delhi theologian and traditionist, Shah Waliullah whose daughter's son, Ismael, was one of the great leaders of the puritanical[23] movement in India. Other notable disciples of Abrahim Kurd[24] were Abdullah Sālim of Basarh (d. 1124) and Sh. Ahmad Nakhli (d. 1114) who besides being a mystic was a traditionist.

Thus the fact that the Sufis of the Shuttari order occupied an important place in the history, religion and learning and the light of spiritual knowledge that was lit in Mandu and north Bihar illumined the distant corners not only of India but also outside regions will have to be admitted by those who care to study the existing literature on the subject. But for the limited space at our disposal we could have made mention of other mystics[25] of the Shuttari order of Bihar, Jaunpur, Deccan, Gujarat and elsewhere and referred to later Tazkirahs and books which contain accounts of or references to the saints indebted to the Shuttari Sufi of Bihar but it seems necessary to say something about two rare MSS discovered in Bihar, one of them being *Aurad-i-Imamuddin Rajgiri*[26] and the other, *Manahij-us-Shuttar,*[27] by Sh. Qazin of Basarh. The author of the former which is a compendium of the principles and practices of what is called Madhhab-i-Shuttar was a well known saint of Rajgir, named Abdul Haseeb alias Imamuddin whose blessings were sought, shortly before his death, by Farrukhseyar[28] while that prince was on his way from Bihar to Agra to contest for the imperial throne

18. *G.A.* or *T.A.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. Published by Daitasitul Maarif, Hyderabad. The present writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge his indebtedness with thanks to Maulana Hakim Syed Muhammad Shoaih Saheb of Phulwari for his help and guidance. The Maulana allowed his MSS. and books to be consulted and utilized and also gave many valuable hints.
21. Samtal-ul Majid.
22. Fuyuzal Haramain by Shah Waliullah Muhaddis-i-Dehlavi.
23. Ismail Shahid and Syed Ahmad of Bareilly (1782-1831) had acquired an enormous following by preaching the purification of the faith, back to its primitive simplicity and were the sponsors of the Wahabi movement in India. They died fighting against the Sikhs who were said to be oppressing the Muslims in the Punjab.
24. F.H.
25. An interesting figure was Shaikh Badhan Shuttar, a descendant of the saint of Mandu and a contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He, according to the author of Akhbar-ul-Akhyar taught Zikr to his famous uncle, Sheikh Rezqullah, practically surnamed Mushtaqi of Rayan. He wrote Hindi verses and also prose. His teachers Niranjan and Paiman have been mentioned in A.A.
26. Also named Muqtabasul Anwar. Copy consulted is good but old and undated ; contains 244 fol. lines 15 ; the author died 1130.
27. Two MSS., one very damaged and the other with 68 fol. each of 23 lines and divided into 61 fasals, was written by Md. Nadir on 17 Zilqad 1121.
28. Khazanatul Ansab which contains copy of the farmans granted by emperor Farrukhseyar.

with his uncle, Jahandar Shah. There is much in the MS which a student of history may feel interested in, specially the account of Syed Jalaluddin alias Shah Niamatullah of Firozpur in Bengal who wrote *Tafsir-i-Jahangiri*, was honoured by Nawab Saif Khan, the Governor of Bengal and Bihar, and prince Shah Suja and emperor Aurangzeb, composed Hindi Dohras,[29] and was met by the author in Jamadi, II. 1079, a few months before his death. As for the technicalities of Shuttari Sufism elaborately dealt with in this MS, these are based largely on the extremely rare and valuable work, *Minhaj-us-Shuttar*, by Sh. Qazin, the saint of Basarh, edited and named Maadanul Asrar by the latter's son-in-law and disciple, Makhdum Sh. Ali Manjhan Rajgiri,[30] the son of Syed Md. Chakkn of Jaunpur. Besides the mystical and theological ideas which have been made to correspond with the positive and real teachings of orthodox Islam, the book contains something about the life and thoughts of the saintly author which cannot but attract one's attention.

The author frequently refers to and names himself as "this mean slave (of God) Md. alias Qazi Bin Ola Bin Alam Tirhuti Maneri Hashmi" because his father Alauddin, son of Alam, was the fifth in descent from Makhdum Ismael whose father, Imam Taj Faqih, a direct descendent of Abu Darda,[31] an uncle of the Prophet of Islam, was one of the first of the Muslim missionaries in India and he is said to have wrested Maner in Patna district in 576 or 1180 A.D. as is evident from the chronogram "Din Md. Shudqavi."[32] The Imam is said to have left his two sons, Israel, grand father of the celebrated Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar and Abdul-Aziz, the ancestor of the Kako and Shaikhpura[33] (Monghyr) families of saints to propagate Islam in south Bihar while he deputed his other son, Ismael, to preach his faith in Tirhut (north Bihar). Sh. Qazin appears to have been born in the last decade of the 8th century A.H. and not in 838[34] for he is said to have been authorised, at an early stage of his career, to preach the principles of Madaria order of Sufism by Shaikh Hismauddin Salamati[35] who died in 840. For a long time, however, he did not accept any one as his spiritual guide and says that he wandered about for twelve years in search of 'Shuhud' through one who was absolutely free from worldly tinge. The writings of Sh. Fariduddin Attar and Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar were a source of inspiration to him and he

29. Ye Dukh Meri Kān Sun Kahun Subh Sahāy-Jo Diya So Thar Rahā Jo Rākhā So Jāy.

30. A Hasani Syed who lies buried at Mariamtola in Bihar near the Rauza of Hazrat Badr Alam Zahidi. He married Bibi Khonja Daulat, the daughter of Sh. Qazin. He also wrote Mazharul Asrar which was a translation of Fawaid us Shuttar.

31. This has been taken from a very old MSS. which contains the Ijazat-Nama of Hazrat Muzaffar Balkhi in favour of his nephew and successor M. Hasan Balkhi, dated 842. But in Zaria-i-Daulat, Zobair bin Abdul Muttallab bin Hashim is substituted for Abn Darde Ali. Other names tally.

32. *Zaria Daulat*, a late work, contains the couplet "Yāft Chun Bar Raja-i-Manyar Zafar-Dād Imām Az Din Jahanarā Navi—Hast Manqul Az Buzurgan-i-Salaf—Sāli An Din i Muhammad Shud Qavi".

33. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* by Shah Shoab, a grandson of M. Abdul Aziz, is one of the earliest and the most authentic authority on the Maner and Bihar family of saints.

34. Hamid Quraishi in Monuments of Bihar has taken this wrong date from KN.

35. Fusul-i-Masudia and Tazkirat ul Muttakin.

used frequently to keep quarantine at the cell of Hazrat Muzaffar Balkhi[36] in the shrine of the great saint of Bihar. He did not at first feel attracted towards his future spiritual guide, Sh. Abdullah Shuttari, when he came to Bihar during the course of his journey to Bengal and Jaunpur before proceeding to Mandu where he finally settled down and died. At long last, however, he was prevailed upon by his friends and fellow workers such as Ahmad Muhammad Abdul Hakim and Shaikh Saadullah to accompany them from Bihar to Mandu. For three days the saint of Mandu took no notice of him and for several months in hot summer the corpulent Sh. Qazin waited daily upon Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari performing obeisance and perspiring from head to foot due to the intense heat of the hilly region. At last one day to test his earnestness he was instructed to practise incessant fasting called Tai. In the meanwhile, another occasion arose to test his devotion to duty. His companion, Abdul Hakim Bihari fell so seriously ill that no hope was left of his life and through his able nursing and blessings of the saints and grace of God he, however, recovered. Though still very weak he requested Sh. Qazin to take him to Bihar so that he might see his children. The Shaikh was torn between two sentiments, the desire to complete his period of probation under the saint of Mandu so as to attain his ends in the next world and the sense of duty and fidelity to a fellow man in this world. He told the saint of Mandu that though he had left his small children and covered a distance of about 500 kos to learn his spiritual lessons from the addressee, he had decided to discharge his duty by his friend, and he was permitted to do so. On the fourth day of the journey, however, his friend gladly allowed him to return to Mandu to complete his austerities. He was well received and on the night on Friday, the fourth Zihijja, 881, he was formally initiated in the order of Shuttari Sufism and he received instructions in Khas ul Khas. He was then directed to return to Bihar and continue his mission. The saint of Basarh has narrated the whole of this episode in the 21st and 35th of about 61 chapters of his book so as to show how a disciple has to undergo many trials and tribulations and how he has to develop a genuine feeling of devotion to his spiritual guide.

During the remaining 20 years of a fairly long life Sh. Qazin was engaged in propagating Islam and instructing people in the principles and practice of the Shuttari School of Sufism in Bihar. The southern portion of Muzaffarpur district was the special field of his activity and it is at Basarh on the historic site of ancient Vaisali and "about 300 yds.[37] south-west of the ruined fort" on the top of a huge mound or a stupa of solid brick work about 24 ft. high, with a diameter of 40 ft. at the base, and approached by a large flight of steps that his tomb and that of his eldest son are still an object of the veneration on the part of a large number of people. "This tomb," wrote General Cunningham, "is generally[38] believed to be five hundred years old."

36. A very learned and pious saint of royal extraction whose Maktubat contains among other things correspondence with Sultan Ghiasuddin of Bengal. He died in 788.
37. A.S.I.R., vol. xvi.
38. *Ibid.*

He was wrongly informed that the saint's name and that of his son were Mir Abdul and Makhdum respectively. An annual fair is held at the ruined Basarh stupa with the tombs on it. "When men of all ages dance round the holy spot with switches and fans in their hands, chanting a dirge of some kind" Cunningham rightly thought this fair to be a pre-Muslim festival as the occurrence of it is regulated by the solar reckoning of the Hindus and not by the lunar years of the Muslims. It is reasonable to suppose that "the Muslim[39] saint used to take advantage of the annual gathering for preaching the law of Islam to the people. The fact that ever since his appearance in this country this fair has been held at his residence and burial place would indicate that he must have been a very celebrated preacher".

It is on record[40] that the eldest son of the saint, Makhdum Owais called Mansur Hallaj Shahid, in his proselytizing zeal while attempting to erect[41] a mosque on the ruins of which another was built and can still be seen at the foot of the stupa mound was killed by a Cheru chief. Tradition about the former occupation of a considerable part of the regions in the districts of Muzaffarpur and Saran by Cheru Chai tribes was very strong in the time of Cunningham who found traces of the ruins of the forts and towers of the Cheru Rajas in Cherand Chapra,[42] Dihwa Dubuli, and Jauridih and elsewhere. Besides Makhdum Owais whose fourth lineal descendant was Ruknuddin, the saint of Jandaha[43] (d. 1117), Sh. Qazin had two other sons and a daughter, all probably born of the daughter of a Chisti saint, Syed Zahid,[44] son of Shah Badh, whose place of birth and burial was the town of Saran. The second son, Abdul Rahaman Shuttari,[45] who lies buried on an elevated ground in Saraiyaganj Muhalla of Muzaffarpur had as his chief disciple Jalaluddin Hafiz,[46] also of Saran, who was one of the spiritual guides of the celebrated Shah Diwan Daulat[47] (d. 1017), whose mausoleum, perhaps the most magnificent in the whole of the province, was erected by Tangar Quli Badakshani at the instance of Ibrahim Khan Kakar, a noble of Emperor Jahangir. The third and the most famous son was Abul Fatah Hadiatullah who was born in 838 and died in 947 and lies buried at Tankol, near Hajipur, on the bank of the Gandak. He was married with the daughter of Shah Md. Sharif of Chandhaus, a descendant of the Sufi saint, Zaiauddin Suharwardi. Humayun, on the occasion of his conquest of Gaur, is said to have met him and wanted to take him to Agra but owing to his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah could not do so. We are told by Mulla Naseer[48] that the emperor had bestowed a considerable property in Tirhut on the saint for the expenses

39. M.B.
40. Nasah Nama-i-Maner. He died a martyr at Bania Basarh in the fight against the Cherus.
41. M.B. by Quraishi.
42. I.A.S.R., vol. xvi.
43. See the article *The Christians* in Calcutta Review, 1891.
44. .....G.A.
45. A.S.I.R.
46. Known also as Hafiz Maujham Jalal Nasehi, lies buried at village Sipaha in Saran.
47. Pr. q. All India Oriental Conference, Patna, also M.U.
48. M.A., Shamsabad Ms.

of the wayfarers etc. which was confiscated from his son, Rukn Alam, by Sher Shah. It is through him and his disciple that the influence of the Shuttari order spread far and wide in the country and elsewhere.

Indeed there were many personages among the descendants and followers of Sh. Qazin of Basarh who carried on his legacy and established their reputation for piety and learning. He himself set a good example and laid down noble ideals for his followers. There is nothing startlingly novel or in any way heterodox in his teachings. He says that the perfect state of a Darvesh is that in which his outward forms and practices are in accord with the positive religious commandments of Shariat and his inward part (heart) is full of eternal truths or Haqiqat. He follows the path of truth or Tariqat and possesses spiritual knowledge or Marifat. He likens Shariat to a boat, Tariqat to a river and Haqiqat to the pearls. The seeker or Talib follows the code of Divine law, adheres to all that has been affirmed and shuns all that is forbidden and purifies himself of all sinful acts such as lies, slander, etc. In the 44th chapter which is devoted to Tariqat he writes, among other things, that those who follow the true path refrain not only from all that caters to the senses and passions but avoids even that enjoyment which is permitted. People generally want comfort and affluence but the true seeker is a self-sacrificing and anxious to do all that is possible to fulfil the wants of others at his own expense. If they don't get what they want they feel pleased ; for so long as a man is a slave to his own desires he cannot be the true slave of God. He is free from jealousy, hypocrisy, miserliness and cupidity, pride and self-conceit, anger and revenge, and false display of piety, etc. As the prayer of a man with an unclean body but pure clothes can never be acceptable, even so one whose heart entertains evil thoughts, though his body is clean and pure, can never have a true concentration on God.

For want of space we cannot consider the various chapters including those devoted to Ishq, Mashrab-i-Shuttar etc. but his observations regarding the ways of many of the so-called Sufis who subordinate the code of the Prophet to the prejudices, manners and customs of the age are well worth our attention. "Such men," he says, "never wish that the people should detect their faults, never will they dare go to the bazar with the long vest, turban and caps on, nor will they ever disgrace themselves by going personally to a weaver or cobbler. Self-worshippers, as distinguished from God-worshippers, sit in a corner so as to display themselves as men of rectitude, venerable Shaikh and leaders living retired life. To impress people they put on a sad countenance and make a show of moving their bodies, heave sighs, crying 'Ah' and then begin to talk of 'Suluk' (advancement in a spiritual life) and like a Mulla who has read only a few pages and little about the principles of divorce, manumission of slaves, purchase and sale etc., they seem to unfold this thing in such a way as to display their power to explain clearly subtle things. They speak in a subdued voice so that the people may realise that owing to austerities and self-mortifications and reduced dietary the Shaikh's strength of speech has become diminished and his face has become pale. What a perfect austerity? They make a show of keeping the Tai fasting for a few days to show that the

Shaikh has voluntarily cut down his meals. If they have to join a feast they lift their morsels with only two fore-fingers, observe absolute silence to make people think that the Shaikh is engaged in deep contemplation and meditation of His eminence. The Shaikh is found, day and night, with rosary in hands and with a copy of the Quaran on the Rihal (support) in front and a few books on mysticism all around him on the sajjada he is sitting on while the devotees are respectfully standing by. Having erected a sort of platform like idol-temple he is seen seated on a tiger skin or an extended prayer-carpet garbed in mystic dress such as a broad sleeved pairahan (long robe) or Hazarmekhi (a Darvesh habit closely stitched) or Mushdandani (a garment made of shreds and patches) pallet or a blanket with a big Dastar (turban) on his auspicious head in such a way as to look like a spiritual leader and attract people towards his great self. Men of ordinary run and even gentry kiss the hand of the Shaikh who is beside himself with joy as he considers the concourse of people around him as a sign of his greatness, perfection, and nearness to God. His self-deception is like that of the accursed Satan who was rejected on this very ground. Those who are the slipper bearers of the men of God do discover the subterfuges of ego and their hidden infidelity." In the end, the saintly author says that all that he has written represents his own condition and is based on his personal experiences. He has exposed the fraud and subterfuges of his own self. He concludes with a couplet:— "Those who see through my self-conceit, even if they be hard drunkards, will refrain from keeping company with me. Where I lay bare my real conditions before a dog, even that animal would begin to abstain from me".

Writing about the ways of procuring lawful food so as to sustain life and strength in order to perform special acts of devotion such as Zikr (recital), Aurad (devotional exercises), etc. the saint makes special mention of dry bread or "bhat khusk' (boiled rice) and Asham-i-Biranj (rice gruel) with which one can break one's fast and says that one can without any violence to one's conscience borrow grain from non-believers, and pay off the debt as soon as one gets something from one's own arable fields or trade. He compares in this connection the state of things obtaining in his own days with that in the time of the celebrated saint of Bihar-shariff whose next door neighbour, a Hindu grocer, used to supply grain for the expenses of the Khanqah up to the value of 1,000 Tankas after which the whole debt was cleared off. "These days", he laments, "such a thing is difficult" and therefore one has to remain content with only getting a loan of bare necessity which can easily be paid off from grain grown in the field or money acquired through trade or other lawful means. At any rate one should be quite fair and above board in one's dealings with others. It is due to the purity of character as much as to spiritual advancement that a man of God has effectiveness in his prayers.

The author here relates a story which is of cultural importance. Some one asked Makhdum Jahanian[49] (Jahangastat) Sayed Jalalul Haq Wad Din

49. The present writer has the honour to trace his direct lineal discent from this celebrated saint who died at the age of 81 in 788 and lies buried at Uch in Sindh. Emperor Firuz Shah and his minister Khan Jahan were devoted to him.

as to why when he read and wrote the same thing as the addressee, there was no response to his prayers such as to that of the saint, the latter replied in Hindi "Khandā Hai Phandā Kahān" (The pit is there but where is the noose ?) meaning thereby that the real means of attaining God was wanting. The Hindi words and expressions occurring in this rare book and in other Malfuzat[50] of even an earlier period are extremely valuable. We get very good and suggestive examples of linguistic assimilations in the writings and utterances of the Sufi saints. They utter expressions containing significant Hindusthani terms the use of which must have been indispensably necessary for their spiritual work. The Muqtabasul Anwar[51] of the Shuttari saint, Imamuddin Rajgiri and a rare autograph copy of the Bayaz of Hazrat Sayed Jaffar[52] Qadri Shuttari, the saint of Barh, a contemporary of Shah Jahan, contain not only the Persian but also the "Hindi" formulae used in practising Zikr and originally prescribed by the celebrated Chisti saint, Baba Farid Shakerganj[53] of Paktattan (d. 668). The Zikr is "the act of drawing the sound of certain syllables of the creed from sides, front, navel, brain, etc., containing 8 such acts. The aim is to awaken the organ of spiritual apprehensions into active remembrance of God." The Shuttari saints also believe in and practise what they call 'Hast Rukni Zikr' and it is significant that the Shuttari saint of Rajgir definitely makes mention of Yoga[54] practices of the Hindus which the Sufis also were in the habit of observing. The formulae referred to above, shorn off of other technicalities, is as follows: "Haun[55] Ohi Hai ; Ohan Tun ; Ai Heen Hi ; In Han Tun ; Inhan Tun ; Hoon Hoon Oohan Tun ; Ohi Ehi Anhi."

50. See the writer's papers in *J.B.A.R.S.* on the historical importance of the Malfuzat and Maktubal of a fourteenth century saint of Bihar (Makhdum Sharfuddin). Among other things *Bāt Bhali Par Sankri* and *Des Bhatta Par Door* have been quoted from Maadan-ul-Manni, compiled in 747. Elsewhere the writer has quoted the saying of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Qadri of Amgher *Na Mānā Jiva Eehān Na Rahna''*.

51. Aurad-i-Imamuddin Rajgiri.

52. The famous disciple of Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhteyar Habi Sultan Nasiruddin and Balban were very much devoted to him ; many of his Hindi Dohaas, Kafias etc., have been published.

53.

54. Slightly differs in other MSS.